

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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R 191546Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 820

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T GENEVA 1112

EXDIS

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS TO QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS DISCLAIMER

1. SUMMARY: ROMANIANS BELIEVE QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) TEXT TABLED BY FRENCH LAST DECEMBER CAN BE INTERPRETED AS AN EXPLICIT ENDORSEMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, ACCORDING TO DEPUTY CHIEF OF THIER CSCE DELEGATION, (NEAGU). THEY ARE THEREFORE FIRMLY OPPOSED TO TEXT IN QUESTION. SOURCE INTIMATED THAT ROMANIAN POSITION ON THIS ISSUE HAD BEEN APPROVED BY CEAUDESCU PERSONALLY. WE REMINDED NEAGU THAT US WAS ABLE TO ACCEPT PROVISIONAL REGISTRATION OF PARA 3 OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL, SUBJECT TO RESERVATION THAT OUR BERLIN ACCESS RIGHTS WOULD BE ADEQUATELY PROTECTED BY A QRR DISCLAIMER, AND WENT OVER IN SOME DETAIL WITH SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF RELATIONSHIP OF QRR TEXT AND BERLIN ACCESS. NEAGU RESPONDED THAT ROMANIANS WOULD "HONOR" THIER UNDERSTANDING WITH US ON THIS POINT, BUT HE REITERATED THAT PRESENT QRR

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TEXT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO HIS GOVERNMENT.
ROMANIAN CSCE DELEGATION MAY RECOMMEND, IN LIGHT OF OUR

CONVERSATION, THAT BUCHAREST TRY TO DEVELOP LANGUAGE THAT WOULD MEET OUR CONCERNS, WHILE AVOIDING BREZHNEV DOCTRINE IMPLICATIONS THAT TROUBLE ROMANIANS. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER HEARING REPORTS THAT ROMANIANS WERE SERIOUSLY TROUBLED BY QRR LANGUAGE TABLED BY FRENCH DECEMBER 12 (GENEVA 1020), US DELOFF ARRANGED LUNCHEON WITH NEAGU TO EXPLORE THIS MATTER WITH HIM. NEAGU RESPONDED THAT HE HAD NEVER SEEN A TEXT WHICH LENT ITSELF SO READILY TO INTERPRETATION THAT IT WAS AN EXPLICIT ENDORSEMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. WHOLE PURPOSE OF ROMANIAN PARTICIPATION IN CSCE WAS TO ATTENUATE THAT DOCTRINE. "CEAUCESCU WILL NEVER GO TO HENSLINK TO SIGN THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE."

3. US DELOFF THEN WENT OVER IN GREAT DETAIL WHY WE BELIEVE THAT OUR POSITION ON BERLIN ACCESS MUST BE PROTECTED, EITHER BY EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER IN BOTH THE NON-USE OF FORCE PARAGRAPH IN PRINCIPLES DECLARATION AND IN PARA 3 OF ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) PROPOSAL, OR BY ADEQUATE QRR DISCLAIMER. IT WAS OBVIOUS FROM NEAGU'S QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS DURING COURSE OF DISCUSSION THAT NEITHER HE NOR HIS AUTHORITIES IN BUCHAREST WERE ENTIRELY CONVERSANT WITH FULL SCOPE OF QRR ISSUE AND THE BERLIN ACCESS IMPLICATIONS OF SWEEPING NON-USE OF FORCE LANGUAGE. NEAGU SAID THAT ROMANIANS WERE FULLY AWARE OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN TWO DELEGATIONS THAT US COULD ACCEPT DROPPING EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO UN CHARTER IN SECOND PRINCIPLE AND IN PARA 3 OF ROMANIAN NUF ONLY RPT ONLY IF SATISFACTORY QRR LANGUAGE WERE ALSO AGREED, AND SAID HIS DELEGATION WOULD "HONOR" THIS UNDERSTANDING.

4. HOWEVER, NEAGU CONTINUED, HE HAD NOT RPT NOT BEEN AWARE THAT WE WOULD NEED SUCH SWEEPING LANGUAGE IN THE QRR TEXT TO PROTECT OUR POSITION ON BERLIN ACCESS. RATHER HIS GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT QRR TEXT WAS MAINLY A FRENCH IDEA, DESIGNED TO
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CONFIRM FRENCH GREAT POWER PRETENTIONS IN GERMAN CONTEXT, AND THAT ESSENTIAL US INTERESTS COULD BE SAFEGUARDED WITH A MUCH MORE ATTENUATED FORMULA. PRESENT QRR TEXT, NEAGU SAID, WOULD MORE THAN UNDO ALL OF THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE WHICH ROMANIANS HOPED TO GAIN FROM THEIR NUF PROPOSAL AND FROM THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION.

5. NEAGU THEN SAID THAT FRENCH HAD SHOWN ROMANIAN DELEGATION COPY OF EARLIER VERSION OF QRR TEXT

SOMETIME IN NOVEMBER. THEREAFTER ROMANIANS RAISED
ISSUE WITH GROMYKO IN LATE NOVEMBER. NEAGU ADDED THAT
AN APPROACH TO GROMYKO ON ISSUE OF THIS SENSITIVITY
COULD ONLY BE AUTHORIZED BY CEACUESCU PERSONALLY.
MASOVESCU HAD ALSO TAKEN UP THE MATTER WITH THE FRENCH
DURING HIS VISIT TO PARIS IN DECEMBER. HOWEVER, FRENCH
HAD NEVER OPENED REAL DIALOGUE WITH ROMANIANS ON THIS
TOPIC.

6. WHEN ASKED WHICH SPECIFIC ELEMENTS OF THE QRR
TEXT BOTHERED THE ROMANIANS, NEAGU CITED WORDS "RESPON-
SIBILITIES AND OBLIGATIONS", WHICH DOVETAIL NEATELY
WITH SOVIET POSITION THAT MOSCOW HAS THE DUTY TO INTER-
VENE IN FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHENEVER SOCIALIST
GAINS ARE THREATENED. BUCHAREST WAS ALSO TROUBLED BY
REFERENCE TO "AGREEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS" BETWEEN SOME
STATES THAT "CONCERN" OTHER STATES NOT PARTY TO THOSE
AGREEMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS. ROMANIANS HAD REASONS
TO SUSPECT THAT THERE MAY BE A SECRET SOVIET-BULGARIAN
"AGREEMENT" OR "ARRANGEMENT" WITH RESPECT TO TRANSIT
ACROSS ROMANIAN TERRITORY OF SOVIET TROOPS IN EVENT
OF A BALKEN CRISIS. ROMANIANS COULD NOT BE PUT IN
POSITION OF APPEARING TO AGREE THAT THEIR SOVEREIGN
RIGHTS COULD BE ABRIDGED BECAUSE THE SOVIET-BULGARIAN
ARRANGEMENT "CONCERNS" ROMANIA.

7. NEAGU ASKED WHY FOUR POWERS COULD NOT EITHER
REFER EXPLICITLY TO GERMANY IN QRR TEXT OR, ALTER-
NATIVELY, ISSUE A SEPARATE DECLARATION ON QRR ISSUE,
AS HAD BEEN DONE AT TIME OF UN ENTRY OF TWO GERMAN
STATES. WE RESPONDED BOTH COURSES WERE UNACCEPTABLE

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TO BONN AND THAT, GIVEN IMPORTANCE OF OUR RELATIONS
WITH THE FRG, WE COULD NOT ENTERTAIN EITHER SUG-
GESTION.

8. NEAGU RESPONDED THAT PROBLEM WOULD THEN BE TO
DEVELOP NEW LANGUAGE WHICH PROTECTS OUR POSITION WITH
RESPECT TO BERLIN ACCESS BUT WHICH CAN NOT REPEAT NOT
BE READ AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE.
HE SAID HE WOULD SUGGEST THAT BUCHAREST TRY TO DEVELOP
SUCH A FORMULA.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NONAGGRESSION, POLICIES, MEETING DELEGATIONS, BERLIN QUADRIpartite MATTERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 FEB 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA01112
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750060-0108
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750233/aaaabcys.tel
Line Count: 162
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <22 SEP 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS TO QUADRIpartite RIGHTS DISCLAIMER
TAGS: PFOR, XG, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006